2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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621 belonged. She was orphaned at an early age and was raised by
597 her maternal grandmother under the protection of her mother's brother, Crow Bull, a prominent member of the Frozen band. Garter Snake claimed to be a Tendon, likewise the band into which her mother had been born, although her father, Bull Lodge, a so-called "Hudson Bay Company breed," was classed as a Frozen. If a child were adopted by, and remained during his childhood days with, a family of another band than that into which his real father had been born, he became a member of the adopting band. For instance, Lame Bull adopted a boy whose father belonged to a different band, but the boy was always known as a member of Lame Bull's band, the Upper Quarters.

[591] One informant stated that when a woman married she became a
621 member of her husband's band, but this statement refers in all probability merely to the fact that patrilocal residence was often practiced. Each of our older women informants stated as her band the one in which she grew up. When speaking of their husbands, these women, each of whom had survived several mates, seldom mentioned their band affiliations, unless asked specifically, nor did they mention to which of the soldier societies their several husbands had belonged. One gathers the very distinct impression
[602] that the kinship bonds were the all-important social relationships so far as Gros Ventres women were concerned, and that the wider political and social groupings did not impinge very directly on their lives.

621 All informants stated that one should not marry into the band
582 in which he claimed membership and in which he was brought up. There was a difference of opinion among them, however, as to whether one might marry into his mother's band providing he had not been raised therein and no blood relationship could be traced.[1] The Boy stated positively that a man who would so much as flirt with a young woman of his mother's band would be disliked. Charles Buckman differed, holding that any marriage would be proper, providing the far-reaching incest taboos based on blood and affinal relationship be observed. The Boy admitted that, because of changes which occurred in band affiliation, occasionally a person would take a wife from some other band than that of either

[1] Kroeber, 1908, p. 147, prohibition of marriage extended to mother's clan.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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to himself: 'He gave to me, so I'll give to him.' But no one was in duty bound to give the equivalent in return."

Within the network of kinship obligations, exchange was more often indirect than reciprocal. A man could expect help from his father and from his mother's brother without being under obligation to return goods in like amount—he was supposed to repay them by conducting himself in such a way that they could be proud of him. This meant that the man in his turn would be especially generous toward his sister and her children, that he would adequately fulfill his duties toward his wife's people and provide goods in sufficient amount that his wife could fulfill her own obligations especially those toward her own brother's wife and children.

When others saw fit to honor an individual, say for bravery in warfare, that person was supposed to give away goods in large amounts to show that he appreciated the honor; and his relatives would join with him in giving, thereby increasing his, as well as their own, prestige. Likewise in paying for services, such as those of a medicine man, relatives would "chip in" to the best of their ability, the one assuming the largest part of the burden receiving the greatest boost in public esteem. A person who impoverished himself by giving generously at such times would be sure that, with his reputation thus established, he would soon be the recipient of gifts dispensed by others in like liberality. Meantime, however, he could not afford to sit back awaiting the presents from others. He would soon lose his coveted reputation and be referred to as lazy, an epithet strong enough to bring tears to the eyes of a man who entertained any ambitions whatsoever.

If a person were in need, it was possible for him to request what was necessary, preferably from some relative who was well-to-do, and usually his request would be met. But a continual borrower lost status and a limit was thus put upon indiscriminate "begging." One woman stated: "If your sister asked you for something you would not refuse her, but it was to your brother's wife you would give things voluntarily. A woman had great pride in keeping her brother's wife well-dressed, and if you had an extra supply of dried berries she is the one you would think of first."

Thus we have the basis for the generalizations the Gros Ventres

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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lodge cover, the hostess provided food and there was no other direct remuneration. If one sought knowledge as to how to use an ordinary medicinal root, something was given in exchange, but in a relatively small amount. On the other hand in compensation for the services of a medicine man, not only was food prepared, but in addition a much greater amount of property was given to the doctor, who in turn would see that those who had accompanied him to help in singing at the cure, would receive some goods as well. The amount offered to the doctor by the one paying for the services was governed by the reputation of the medicine man as well as by the individual's regard for his own reputation for generosity. People would say: "Look how much so-and-so thinks of his relative who was sick—he gave so much to the one who cured him." If the patient were very ill a whole family might really impoverish itself in paying doctors, were it necessary to call in one specialist after another, as sometimes happened.

Although apparently there was a tendency to call on relatives to perform services—such as naming a child, telling a war story at the erection of a new lodge, and so on—remuneration was forthcoming, although perhaps on not so large a scale as if a non-relative were called on to perform the same offices.

In addition to exchange of goods effected through generous hospitality and the prestige-requirements of ostentatious liberality, including payment for services, the distribution of goods within the tribe was aided by gambling. Wagers were matched by two competing individuals and bet on an all-or-nothing basis. Considerable amounts of property changed hands at a single match.[19]

[19] For a discussion of gambling among the Gros Ventres, see Flannery and Cooper, 1946.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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555 342 538 The more war-deeds a man performed, the more frequently was he the center of attention. Gradually he began to rise above others and finally he achieved recognition as an outstanding warrior. Only when a man reached this enviable height was he justified in having his war record painted on his lodge for all the world to admire. When a newly painted lodge of this kind was first erected, the owner initiated its use by giving a feast to which other prominent warriors were invited. From among the guests, the host "pulled up" one who was able to tell four brave exploits, each connected in some way with a different lodge belonging to the enemy. At the conclusion of each separate account, the warrior who was reciting hit the taut new lodge a resounding blow, thus attracting attention. Then while the guests were feasting and smoking with the host, crowds gathered around to examine the lodge and to discuss the record depicted thereon. It was said, too, that similar discussions took place when the Gros Ventres met on friendly terms with other tribes. The reputation of the owner was thereby enhanced as his prowess was ever more widely acknowledged.

Enemy-Friends

572 In accordance with the general prestige pattern, an outstanding warrior, or one who had aspirations toward that end, was expected to be generous as well as brave. Particular significance attached, however, to the disposition of horses stolen from the enemy or of weapons or other trophies obtained from the enemy at risk of life. [602] The giving of such presents initiated a particular relationship between recipient and donor known as the enemy-friendship. This was a kind of "joking relationship" and involved the greatest amount of freedom between the two both in word and action. Whatever one enemy-friend said or did to the other had to be borne with equanimity. Loss of temper involved loss of prestige, and it was said that in some cases one enemy-friend had to suffer patiently audacity which would have led him to murder another not in that relationship. Each tried to out-do the other by kinds of speech and action ranging all the way from the most harmless teasing and jokes to the most humiliating exposition of foibles and misdemeanors.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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572 Woman had sung around the circle once, he led his party to Bull Lodge's tipi. The latter was suspicious and thought: 'I'm in for it now!' Sits Like A Woman went up to Bull Lodge, took him by the arm and said: 'Come, my friend.' He led him to the middle of the group of returned warriors. He then faced Bull Lodge and said in a jesting way: 'Stand still or I'll kill you.' Bull Lodge stood there and Sits Like A Woman took his rifle and, drumming with the stock on Bull Lodge's back, sang the following song: 'He who poisons (i.e., a medicine man with power to kill) has no penis.' Bull Lodge and his brothers-in-law realized that Sits Like [602 834] A Woman was in earnest because not only was the song a great insult, but the victim's brothers-in-law were present,—which they should not have been when any reference to private parts was made.[23] The war party took up the song with enthusiasm as Sits Like A Woman told Bull Lodge again: 'Don't move yet—I'll kill you anyway.' He took Bull Lodge's new Hudson Bay blanket and slit it in two; he slashed Bull Lodge's shirt and took it off him; he slashed his leggings and removed them; and finally he cut the belt so that the breech-cloth fell to the ground. Bull Lodge was standing there naked. By that time the brothers-in-law had stolen away, one by one. Bull Lodge knew better than to run away, and Sits Like A Woman said: 'Perhaps you have power to poison people. If you have a mind to poison me, go ahead and try. I'm not afraid of you. If you choose to pay me back that way, you might just as well try it on the sun. Or, if you choose to pay me back in the way I have treated you, go ahead. But first lead a successful war party. If you then do to me what I have done to you, I won't be mad. But I'll lead still another war party and do far worse to you that second time than I have done this time.'

"After thinking it over, Bull Lodge decided to buy off his enemy-friend and the next morning he got together an armful of valuable things, filled a pipe and went to Sits Like A Woman. 'My friend,' he said, 'here's a pipe I am offering to you. You take this pipe so you will stop doing things like this to me. While I don't mind it, my brothers-in-law were there. And here are some things you can have.' Sits Like A Woman laughed, but ac-

[607] [23] Relationship between brothers-in-law precluded any reference to sex and bodily exposure in each other's presence. See pp. 118–19.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

cepted the pipe and gifts. Two days later Sits Like A Woman told his wives to cook and had the announcer call out: 'Bull Lodge, your friend Sits Like A Woman is inviting you to his lodge to smoke.' Others were likewise invited and when Bull Lodge arrived he was put in the place of honor. After they had eaten a good meal and had started to smoke, Sits Like A Woman said to Bull Lodge: 'My friend, you can rest assured that I'll never do that to you again. I went to that extreme because you told some of my party I was not fit to lead them. But I showed you what kind of a man I am. You are intelligent and I don't think you'll make a mistake like that again. Also its good you didn't get mad but took what I handed out to you. You probably regret the blanket and clothes I cut up. So here are my best clothes—you can have them.' Then, indicating his best race horse, he added: 'Lead that horse home and keep it.' Thus Sits Like A Woman publicly absolved Bull Lodge, but by heaping gifts upon him so generously he exposed him too."

If enemy-friends were relatives, usually they were of opposite sex and the joking aspects, rather than the spirit of rivalry, were predominant. Should the enemy-friendship be inaugurated between two relatives who otherwise were expected to be reserved in each other's presence, somewhat more freedom between them was permitted, although the taboo on reference to sex was said to have been strictly maintained.[24] Among other examples of this type of enemy-friendship, Coming Daylight gave the following from her own experience. "My husband's nephew, Crazy Bull, one time presented to me a horse he had captured from the enemy. Before that time we had always properly avoided speaking to each other unless it was necessary, but now we were enemy-friends and we could play jokes on each other and he would tease me, too. One time, for instance, during the night he piled up a big load of firewood just in front of the entrance to my lodge. He had hoped that when I went out in the morning I would open the flap and go out head foremost into the wood and lose my temper. He was there watching to see what would happen, but unfortunately for him, my grandmother was the first to venture forth and so the trick miscarried and counted for me rather than for him. I never liked

[24] For details on kinship behavior, see pp. 107–26.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

572 602 522 to play jokes, but I would get even with him by going over to his lodge when I would hear him abusing his wife. He had to stop when I came in there because if I actually caught him at it, I could dub him a wife-beater or worse in public."

562 572 602 While in most instances the enemy-friendship was initiated by men, women occasionally obtained war trophies on their own, and had the same privilege. The following, told by Singer, illustrates how she herself came by some war trophies and the manner in which she disposed of them. "One time, when the Piegan had attacked us and the Gros Ventres were pursuing them, I dashed out with some of my women relatives. We came upon three Piegan who had just been killed. Those other women stopped to hit them but I rode by more slowly and spotted some booty near one of the bodies. I dismounted and picked up a nail-studded belt to which was attached a scabbard containing a knife and a nicely beaded gun case. I didn't want to show these to the others, but when they taunted me because I failed to count coups as they had done, I showed them this belt. One of them grabbed the scabbard, which I had intended to give to my own husband, saying: 'You are giving me this. Now we are enemy-friends!' To my nephew I later gave the gun case, saying as I threw it down in front of him: 'Here. You could have this for your gun. This is what I took in war.' The knife I threw down in front of my grandmother and, because we were now enemy-friends, I used a 'bad' name for her —I called her 'you who don't wipe your behind.'"

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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CHAPTER VI

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

Much of the more formalized behavior expected between particular categories of relatives among the Gros Ventres has survived the many changes in their economic, political, and religious structure. It is one of the few aspects of their older culture which can be observed as functioning at least partially. Although the economic side of the obligations has had to be reduced markedly under modern conditions, the attitudes accompanying avoidance and joking are still deeply ingrained in those of middle age and in older persons.

All in all, the type of behavior which indicated respect was extended to include by far the greatest number of relationships,—freedom being allowed only between those individuals considered to be related as grandparents and grandchildren, as siblings of the same sex, and as in-laws of opposite sex but of the same generation.

Parents

The parent-child relationship was characterized by a kind of reserve that tabooed any light talk, especially joking about sex or marriage. If the subject were approached in a serious way, however, it could be discussed between parent and child of like sex. A woman could, for instance, go to her divorced or widowed mother and tell her: "So-and-so wants you, will you not go and live with that man?" But she would not think of acting as intermediary in such a proposal to her father.

Throughout life children were supposed to address and to refer to their parents only by relationship terms,[1] never by personal name. Further, a son would be shamed by any incident even remotely connected with sex, in which he was involved, should it be

[1] The kinship terminology given by our informants agrees in detail with that in Kroeber, 1902, p. 9.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Other pipes, some at least of them "Beaver" Pipes apparently, were specifically mentioned by our informants. There may be some duplications in the following listing. 178

The pipe owned by Roasted-in-the-coals, or Roasted-under-the-fire was called asti:θibie:tsa (meaning not obtainable). It was buried with him. It had two big rattles with it about 6 to 8 inches in diameter. After he died, these rattles were brought to Crow Bull, Coming Daylight's maternal uncle. He kept them quite a while, but, perhaps because they did not belong to the Flat Pipe which he owned or because he had had a dream about them, he decided to put them away, and had his wife Iron Woman and his niece Coming Daylight dispose of them. They were camping on the Missouri River at the time. The two women dug a kind of tunnel in the bank just big enough to hold them. Coming Daylight pitied these rattles because they were not even wrapped. So she took her robe and wrapped them in it and prayed to them: "Have pity on us. I pity you because you are not even wrapped up. I take my robe to wrap you. You are poor like orphans." And so the two women put them away. [534]

Coming Daylight's father also was keeper of a pipe, but only for a short time as he was killed in war, not long after getting it. When her father first received this pipe, he was not grabbed without warning, as new keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes were. The wives of her uncle, Crow Bull, made a big lodge for her father and put this pipe on a tripod in front of it. Then Crow Bull went to his sister, Coming Daylight's mother, and said: "Go in your lodge. This lodge is yours." So her father and his two wives moved in. Her mother had children at the time and so was not co-keeper, and when the babies cried she would take them out of the lodge. Instead her father's other wife, who never had any children to Coming Daylight's knowledge, was co-keeper. The pipe's place in the big lodge was opposite the door. When Coming Daylight's father died, her mother's brother, Crow Bull, took over the pipe. This pipe, with most of the wrappings removed to lessen the weight, and wrapped in a small bundle with rawhide, lashed around near either end and with a thong handle, was taken by Crow Bull to the war called by the Gros Ventres "When [602]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

After the Women's Dance was ended, the women participants broke up and each went back to her own lodge where she went through a final private ceremony. This,—and some other phases of Gros Ventre culture,—may be illustrated in the following story from real life, told by The Boy with hilarious laughter and with consummate histrionic artistry of intonation, gesture, facial expression and mimicry. Would that we could have gotten a sound-movie of it.

"It was the custom among all the tribes around here that when the old women had their Dance and it had ended they would go back to their tents and rest. Before they took a drink they would do like the buffalo does on going to water.

"Not long ago there died here a Gros Ventre man, named Hill (or Butte), who was famous for his ability to break wind, loud or soft, at will. He had a friend, a Blood Indian. On one occasion the Gros Ventres and Bloods got together, and a Women's Dance was held. Hill went to visit his Blood friend in the latter's lodge.

"After a while, when the dance was over, the Blood's wife came home, squatted down, said 'Phew' from fatigue, took off her dance regalia, and wiped the sweat off her face. Then she took an unborn-calf robe and laid it on her head, and put on her horned ritual headdress. She next gave her husband a wooden dish to fill with water and place in the lodge opposite the entrance. Hill, a spectator of all this, was a brother-in-law of the Blood's wife and hence had a right to joke with her.

"The old woman, then, in her dance regalia, got down on all fours, crawled up to the bowl of water sort of roaring like a buffalo going to drink, and as she reached the bowl suddenly shied away. This she did three times. After the fourth time she would have taken a drink, but just as she was about to drink, after the fourth approach, Hill broke wind loudly. At this the old woman just fell backwards, her headdress fell off, and she did not drink.

"Another Blood Indian present fell backwards laughing. Hill did not crack a smile. The woman's husband put his hand over his face and kept a stern demeanor until Hill said to him: 'My younger brother, don't get mad. All the tribes all over the

 525 789 539 648

men called on their helpers. The Gros Ventres won many things of value: many best horses, guns, and clothes; and no Gros Ventre ever gambled against Red Whip after that.

Men, women, and children could participate in a hand game played by men. 525
All, with an exception or two to be noted, could bet thereon, and men and women could bet on both sides. In a game where the men were players, the women would be present and would join in the singing as well as in the betting, but they could not be guessers, hiders, or tally keepers; only men could be such. Women, however, could so function in hand games among themselves.

Actual participation in hand game gambling was high. One of our women informants, Mrs Warrior, never went in for betting, she emphasized; but she seems to have been rather exceptional in this regard. Our other woman informant on gambling, Mrs Sleeping Bear, was much devoted to gambling, for relatively small stakes. Nearly every one, so far as we could make out from our evidence, seems to have gambled, either frequently and habitually or at least from time to time.

Participation, however, followed a well-defined and established pattern as regards who could or should bet with or against whom and for what kind of stakes. For convenience we are calling this the "bettor-wager pattern."

Some persons or classes of persons could not gamble at all or could not gamble against certain others; others could or would gamble against certain others only for refreshments or a meal; others, for small stakes of little value; others still, for big stakes. The Gros Ventre bettor-wager pattern at first glimpse looks complicated, but actually it conforms to a few very simple principles. We shall look first at the pattern itself; afterwards at the principles.

Blood relatives could not gamble against each other either for large or for 602 ●
small stakes. Such blood relatives included parents and children, grandparents 525
and grandchildren, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts and nephews and nieces, and also all classificatory relatives of the same categories. At most a group of blood relatives might engage in a hand game with the half-serious half-playful agreement that the losing side would "cook" for the winning side. A given gambling team would commonly be composed chiefly of members who were kin to one another, but non-relatives could also be on the team; the opposing team would likewise be commonly composed chiefly of another kinship group. Where blood relatives gambled in the same game for small or large stakes, they always gambled and bet, not against one another, but on the same side, and in wagering they bet on and backed their own kinsman or kinsmen, wagering dyadically against fellow tribesmen or aliens not related to them.

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

602 525 Gambling between blood relatives for property the loss of which would hurt or would entail even small hardship on the loser was evidently looked upon as conflicting with the common loyalty and mutual helpfulness among all blood relatives that were expected by the Gros Ventre social code. The Gros Ventre felt, furthermore, that such gambling might easily give rise to quarreling and ill-will among relatives, whereas the code expected harmony and good will.

As regards affinal relatives, the rules were more complicated and less uniform. Loyalty, helpfulness, and harmony were desired and expected among close relatives by marriage, but the avoidance, respect, and familiarity conventions differed.

606 525 A son-in-law could not gamble at all against his mother-in-law, even on different sides for "cooking" for the winners. On the one hand the rule of respect and avoidance was the most rigid and absolute within the avoidance regulations: they could not look at or speak directly to each other, and could not be in the same lodge together. On the other hand they were expected to be very good and generous to each other. It may be added that these restrictions on the son-in-law applied also to his brothers, presumably too to the mother-in-law's sisters, although we failed to inquire about this last point.

[602] As regards all other relatives by marriage, they, even those prohibited from gambling even for small stakes, were permitted, it seems, to gamble as members of groups against one another where the stakes, if they can really be called such, were merely the above-mentioned "cooking" by the losing side for the winners. Some affinal relatives, however, such as father-in-law and daughter-in-law could not engage in a non-group twosome game, even for fun, just as brother and sister could not do so.

A son-in-law and father-in-law could not gamble against each other even for small wagers; the former could not gamble with the latter's brothers or even his close friends—and presumably vice versa, the father-in-law could not with the son-in-law's. Nor, as mentioned, could daughter-in-law with father-in-law. A son-in-law and father-in-law were under certain restrictions of respect and avoidance but not so absolute as those between son-in-law and mother-in-law; the two men could discuss "business" matters with each other, but could not just sit down and chat together about trivial things and especially about anything concerning sex or the eliminative functions. And about the same rule held for daughter-in-law and father-in-law in their personal relations.

Two brothers-in-law, two sisters-in-law, or a brother-in-law and his sister-in-law (wife's sister or brother's wife) could gamble against each other for small

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

"My experience was by dreaming. One time before I was married—I must have been about eight years old—I was sleeping in a big lodge and a 'person' came and wakened me. He had a bag of medicines on his back. He came to me on four successive nights and laid out these medicines and told me what each was for. On the third of these nights there was a man lying there—he was just skin and bones. The 'person' who had awakened me told me: 'You could take all these medicines and you could cure people like that one lying there' [i.e., a person in the last extremity]. In my dream I would do everything he told me, manipulate my hands to draw out the sickness, and do everything. But I didn't want that power and would tell him so. Each morning too I would relate to my grandmother exactly what had happened in the night but she would try to hush me up, telling me: 'Don't say anything; don't tell anyone. You will be a great medicine woman.' But I didn't want that power. I didn't like it because when medicine people suck on the weak part of the sick person they have to swallow what they extract. I had decided I would rather be quiet and not do anything like that, or sacrifice my flesh, or things of that kind. Perhaps if it had come later I might have taken that power and become great."

Nevertheless when later in life she had other dreams indicating supernatural power, she likewise refused. She explained in regard to one of these experiences, for instance: "The one who awakened me this time had told me to face the rising sun and was showing me how to make a smudge from the moss that grows close on logs; but I told him. 'No. I would rather not have it.' Those who have power die too soon."

Incidentally, still in connection with curing, bleeding was an operation which was performed purely as a natural remedy for a person who felt dizzy or sluggish. Anyone could do it—no supernatural validation was needed. Other women described quite casually how it was done and discussed the various times they had actually performed the operation. Coming Daylight, however, insisted that while there was really nothing to such an operation, she could never bring herself to perform it, nor would she allow anyone else to bleed her; she could not stand the sight of blood.

The aversion to the sight of blood and to self-mutilation was evidently deep-seated and showed itself in a marked manner early in her life. On one occasion a close relative was very ill. In such a situation it was expected that every member of the family would rally around and do whatever he could toward the recovery. Among the things that fell within the scope of activity for female relatives was that of vowing to sacrifice something valuable, including perhaps the blood from one's arm or a finger-joint, if the person recovered. At this particular time, Coming Daylight was a young child, and her grandmother decided that it would be appropriate for the little girl to offer that her finger-tip be removed if the relative regained his health. When it was suggested to her, Coming Daylight refused, even though her grandmother took after her with a stick. She actually ran away and wandered alone, until two nights later the relative died and an uncle finally found her.

On another occasion in her early youth, too, she defied a convention connected with kinship by refusing to join in mourning for an uncle who had been killed in revenge for having instigated the murder of his brother's wife. When her grandmother upbraided Coming Daylight for not expressing grief in the traditional manner, the latter defied her by saying: "I am not going to cry for that man. I don't know why you are crying for him. I have worked for that woman and she has fed me, and has even given me meat to bring home to you. I heard

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the shots and went later to see what happened, and there I saw her lying across the fire; her dress had burned off and her body was all shriveled. They weren't satisfied to kill her, but they burned her too!" She maintained her attitude and all the scolding from her relatives was of no avail.

Before turning to her adult life, we may refer to another instance which illustrates Coming Daylight's sensitivity to the suffering of others. In the Sacrifice Lodge, which is the Gros Ventre version of the well-known Plains Sun Dance, one of the important features was the spectacular self-torture which the active participants underwent. Each one had a sliver of wood embedded in the flesh of his chest. To the wood was tied a line, the other end of which was fastened high on the center-pole of the lodge. The man, leaning back so that the line was taut, went back and forth until finally the sliver was torn from his flesh. Meanwhile the women cheered on their relatives by "rattling their tongues," singing war songs, and the like, by way of encouraging the men to be brave and see the thing through. Coming Daylight was quite a young child when she first witnessed this performance. She remembered vividly her reaction when one of the young men, in his exhaustion, went to the center-pole and, putting his arms around it, wept aloud. She was not able to stand it any longer and rushed home crying. Her grandmother was very angry with her for leaving in the middle of the performance, but all the little girl could say was: "Oh, I just pitied that young man," and she could not be induced to return to the dance lodge. We may add here that actually in later years she did not participate in the Sacrifice Lodge even so far as women were allowed to do so.

The examples we have given are sufficient to show, I believe, that Coming Daylight had developed as a child a very strong set against violence, against painful and dangerous experiences. She refused medicine power from supernatural sources not only because it was dangerous but also because it involved a kind of physical activity which was repugnant to her. She refused to mutilate herself and was extremely sensitive to painful experiences in others. Her actual deviations from the patterns of accepted or approved behavior all tended in this same direction against violence. Her adult behavior likewise was consistent with this trend in her personality.

In consonance with her feeling against physical violence Coming Daylight avoided as far as possible the rough-and-tumble play in which brother-in-law and sister-in-law were free to, and indeed expected to, indulge. Other women told with glee how they enjoyed "getting even" with their brothers-in-law by, for instance, pushing them when fully clothed into the river, or dumping bucketfuls of water over their heads when they least expected it, and so on; but Coming Daylight admitted without hesitation that she didn't like that sort of thing and never attempted to retaliate even when her brothers-in-law succeeded in playing jokes on her. Similarly while it was not unusual for women rivals to actively fight over a man, she refrained from such undignified behavior, although it must be admitted that she had enough provocation on at least one occasion of which she told me. She had just married a man who was described by others as something of a gay Lothario. A woman who had been trying to force her attentions on him was furious when she heard of the marriage. She rushed to the lodge and pulled Coming Daylight out feet first, yelling insults the while. When the latter regained her feet she made no attempt to hit back even though the other slapped her and pulled off an earring, tearing the lobe of the ear. Coming Daylight, however, bided her time and soon was able to make an opportunity for an exchange of words with the woman at a big social dance.